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The Emergence and Consolidation of the BJP in Jharkhand: A manifestation of Hindu Nationalism

By

Sanchay Ghosal

Research Scholar

University Department of Sociology

Ranchi University, Ranchi

Under the Supervision of

Prof. Binod Narayan

Associate Professor

University Department of Sociology

Ranchi University

Submitted to

University Department of Sociology

Ranchi University, Ranchi

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Introduction

The emergence and consolidation of ethno- nationalism, revivalism, shifting power relationships and identity politics has had a profound effect on every aspect of social life. The implications of these 'global tendencies' in the realm of politics, religion, economy, state and civil society are multifaceted and far reaching. Quite evidently, most of the Third World Countries are grappling with the challenges that have emerged in the wake of strong global currents of ethno- nationalism, revivalism, shifting power relationships and identity politics. Individual countries have devised their indigenous mechanisms of dealing with these challenges in different realms of society. This study aims to observe, analyze and conceptually lay bare how the state, religion, economy, politics, market and civil society in India, particularly in the state of Jharkhand, has witnessed the resurgence of Hindu nationalism and Hindu nationalist organizations that represent the Hindu nationalist forces, as mechanisms to deal with the crises that have emerged in the wake of 'globalizing tendencies.

In the wake of rising ethno- nationalism, shifting power relationships, revivalism, and multi-culturalism, the question of one's identity and resurgent primordialities has gained prominence. Samuel Huntington has observed that 'the clash of civilisations', has become a central issue of world politics, replacing the old Cold War (Huntington, 1997). Several Third World Countries have emerged as strong opponents and critiques of the neo- imperialist culture of the Occident and its dominant political ideology (Clapham, 1986). The anti-authoritarian revolution in Iran is a case in point, where the civil society protested against American interference and the subjugation of Islam and strived towards establishing a Utopian Islamic state (Mottahedeh, 1985). Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Central Asian Republics, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and a plethora of other Third World Nations have witnessed such forces which have aimed to establish a unique cultural identity for their religion, civil society and nation. In the context of India, the emergence of the New Right forces and their articulation and re- articulation of ideas of 'traditional cultural identity', 'revivalism' and 'security' have left an indelible mark on all aspects of social life (Jaffrelot, 1996).

There is much literature linking global tendencies with resurgent primordialities of various forms. My objective in this study is to critically assess the generalised, over-arching and thus often dangerous theoretical formulations. I will attempt to scrutinize the existing literature by categorizing on the basis of traditions/approaches such as the post-modern tradition, the dialectical tradition, globalization and state formation tradition and the Cultural- Ideological approach.

Hindu nationalism, Hindu nationalist organizations like the RSS, VHP and the BJP, their emergence, consolidation and its implications on politics, state, economy, market, religion and civil society need not be assessed as a battle of two distinct dichotomies- traditionalism vs modernism (Guha, 2007). Rather, it may be viewed as a response to the challenges posed by multi- culturalism, identity crisis, modernity and its related phenomena.

The notion of identity, which remained relegated as a peripheral concern within the discipline of sociology has travelled all the way from the margins and occupies a central position in contemporary sociology (Lawler, 2008). Identity theories laid by classical sociologists like Cooley and Mead, who perceived identity from social and psychological perspective (development of the self) have undergone significant transitions in the wake of rising global challenges to the idea of identity. Identity in contemporary times is perceived as the domain of political sociology (Balibar, 2013). The 'other' has always played a significant part in the development of 'the self' and its identity. Hence, identities are discovered and negotiated in the presence of the 'other'. In a world of constantly shifting power dynamics and enhanced stratification, the negotiation and assertion of identity is fraught with tussle. This quest for specific discerning circumscribes both individual and group dimensions and is being increasingly seen as a dynamic and rapidly evolving notion (Goffman, 1959).

Ramchandra Guha identifies a plethora of factors that have played a major role in the growth of Hindu right-wing nationalism in India. These include corruption by and within the Indian National Congress, Islamist extremism in South Asia, the hypocrisy of left-wing parties, and at the level of the larger world (ISIS), and the rise of ethno-nationalism globally (Guha, 2007).

Three distinguishing factors can be identified that have led to theories of the Right worldwide (Luce, 2017).

The first factor is the failure of neoliberalism that emerged in the 1990s. The neoliberal model which appeared as an economic ideology was aligned with a supportive political ideology that is popularly referred to as the Washington Consensus. Neoliberalism, both as a political and as an economic ideal stress upon the idea of free market and its associated characteristics such as privatisation, liberalisation, end of red tapism, deregulation, globalization, etc Neoliberalism focussed on economic growth and free market which eventually resulted in the concentration of wealth and severe economic inequality and poverty in society. This led to a sense of deprivation, dissatisfaction, and discontent among people (Piketty, 2013). The Right wing identified and acted upon this discontent and promised greater economic parity to the poor and the economically marginalised (Hochschild, 2016). Further, governments guided by the neoliberal policy stress on fiscal consolidation and as a measure of the same introduce austerity measures like introducing cuts in social welfare programmes, schemes, etc. This can lead to further resentment among the marginalised sections of the society who bear the brunt of these cuts. This resentment is further heightened by the fact that neoliberal policies and governments are seen as pro- corporate and business interests. Neoliberal policies promote liberalization, privatisation and globalisation which can lead to loss of jobs for people from certain regions or certain specific industries. This creates greater anxiety and disgruntlement (Piketty, 2013). When the failure of neoliberal policies results into financial crises, it provides a fertile ground for right wing parties (Hochschild, 2016). Episodes of corruption and scandals have favoured the rise of Mr Narendra Modi to power. The masses have rallied behind a leader who represented a fresh alternative distinct from the ruling status quo power elites. Studies from scholars like Sides et al. (2018), Norris and Inglehart (2019), Margalit (2019) also explain this.

Neoliberalism places greater emphasis on individual effort and meritocracy and as a result the individual and his/her interests are prioritized over collective identities and group interests (Brown, 2015). This can lead to anxiety amongst those that prioritize group interests and collective identities. Right wing parties, on the other hand, have clearly stressed upon group identities and issues pertaining to groups such as immigration, cultural identity and the like. For instance, right wing parties have questioned religious conversions (Mudde, 2003).

Neoliberal policies have enabled the privatisation of the media (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). The tech enabled social media of the modern times represents a powerful weapon which the right-wing parties have channelised in order to feed into the minds of the voters that an alternative political ideology and policies and programmes exist, which, if given a chance could bring an end to the problems that have emerged as a result of neoliberal policies (Benkler, Faris, and Roberts, 2018). This tech enabled media has also been successfully utilized to consolidate and strengthen the already existing support base of the right-wing parties (Ott and Dickinson, 2019). Privatization of the new media has enabled concentration of power in the hands of a few large, corporate media houses and their owners. A nexus between these large corporate media houses and the right-wing parties can successfully sway the public narrative in favour of the ring wing (Bagdikian, 1983).

The *Second factor* is the *rise and consolidation of the wave of privatization beginning in the 90s*. Earlier, right- wing Parties were in favour of government ownership of resources. However, in recent times, there has been a reorientation in the nature of fiscal choice of right- wing parties, where they have been seen to promote privatisation. The right- wing parties have started to espouse the cause of transferring ownership and control of state-owned corporations to private enterprises. This, they have argued will significantly reduce government interference in the economy thereby promoting efficiency and free market - based competition. This in turn will improve the quality of goods and services, leading to greater consumer satisfaction and overall economic growth (Klein, 2007). This doctrine will resonate with those sections of the voters that prioritise efficiency, quality of services and growth. As for the marginalised sections of the society and the lower income vote base of the right- wing parties, they have deployed specifically targeted welfare schemes like the 'Awas Yojana', Nutrition programmes and the like.

Privatisation as a matter of policy significantly benefits business organisations and corporate interests. Privatisation facilitates lesser interference by the regulatory bodies, ease of doing business, greater market opportunities, efficiency and better prospects for profit maximization (Thompson, 2013). Right wing parties and governments that promote privatisation receive support from corporate houses and business leaders (MacLean, 2017). This support can manifest in the form of donations, endorsements, financial contributions, etc which, in turn, enable the right- wing parties to further consolidate their position, power and support base.

Further, by promoting privatisation and its related phenomena of globalisation, the right-wing parties are integrating the local i.e. national economy with the global economy. This has enabled the free flow of goods, services, technology, investments, etc into the nation thereby stimulating and strengthening the national economy and economic growth and development (Friedman, 1999). This policy has enabled the right- wing to impress those section of the voters that prioritise economic growth and development.

The *third factor pertains to the rise of Hyper-globalism and ideological populism*. Dani Rodrik's (2023) book analyses the relationship between globalisation and populism. It delves into this question as to why has the post 1990s globalisation era witnessed a surge in populism across the globe? As per Rodrik, *"It is important to understand what are the mechanisms through which globalization fuels populism…Second, globalization is not just one thing: We can distinguish between international trade, international finance, and international labour flows, specifically. How does each one of these facets of globalization work its way through the political system? Third, globalization is clearly not the only economic shock that creates redistributive effects or economic anxiety—and it may not even be the most important one. Why does globalization appear to have an outsized effect on politics compared to, say, technological change or regular business cycles?" (*Rodrik's 2023)

Globalisation has led to significant changes in the economy. Some of these changes pertain to outsourcing of low-cost manufacturing jobs to labour intensive and low wage regions, growth in service sector of the economy, over reliance on global supply chains, etc (Stiglitz, 2002). These economic changes have led to widespread economic inequality between regions and occupations as well as other problems like job losses, unemployment, lower incomes, etc (Piketty, 2013). It has caused severe discontentment among the poor and the marginalised sections. Right- wing populist leaders and parties have capitalized on the disgruntlement caused by globalisation. They have portrayed right wing ideology as a protector of national interest as well as the marginalised (Müller, 2016).

Globalisation has also promoted exchange of cultural ideas, values, believes, practices, traditions and the like (Barber, 1995). Peripheral and non- dominant cultures have developed a sense of fear and cultural anxiety pertaining to the loss of their unique cultural ideas, values, beliefs, practices, traditions, etc (Duncombe, 2002). Right wing ideologies

and leaders have promoted a discourse of right -wing ideology as a protector of indigenous cultural identities (Stern, 1961)

Further, globalization has led to political polarization within societies (Campbell, 2016). In the face of this political fragmentation, right- wing parties have emerged as the voice of the long-silenced majority, thereby creating solid voter base amongst these majorities (Judis, 2016).

This study seeks to focus on the emergence and consolidation of the BJP in Jharkhand. Jharkhand emerged as a separate state on 15th November, 2000 having been carved out of Bihar after several decades of struggle by tribal and other groups. The movement for creation of a separate political entity i.e. the state of Jharkhand, popularly referred to as the Jharkhand Movement, included within its ambit issues pertaining to protection, preservation and promotion of tribal culture, identity, autonomy, and the like. Political parties in Jharkhand have espoused to represent and protect the cause of the tribals of the State. Jharkhand has witnessed political instability ever since its creation with frequent change of regime.

In the face of political instability, anti- incumbency, corruption issues, lack of adequate infrastructure and inadequate development, the BJP has presented itself as a viable alternative vis-à-vis the traditional parties such as the Jharkhand Murti Morcha (JMM). As a part of its consolidation strategy in Jharkhand, BJP formed alliance with regional parties such as the Janata Dal (United) and All Jharkhand Students' Union (AJSU). These alliances have enabled the BJP to diversify its support base within Jharkhand.

Further, the BJP has nurtured local leadership and a strong cadre base within the state which has in turn been instrumental in mobilizing a strong support base at the level of the grassroots and solidifying the organizational structure of the BJP in Jharkhand.

As a part of its broader consolidation strategy, the BJP has focused on the agenda of infrastructural development and has balanced its neoliberal policies with targeted schemes for the tribal and marginalised populations within the state. The BJP has strongly advocated the protection, preservation and promotion of indigenous cultures in the state.

The emergence and consolidation of the BJP in Jharkhand can be identified as a dynamic process which is affected by a plethora of factors ranging from historical background to identity politics to election strategies to socio- economic development and the like. The BJP is walking on a tight rope while attempting to strike a balance between identity politics and development in the state (Sinha, 2019).

It is in this context that the objective of this study is to collect empirical data from the state of Jharkhand, in order to understand the linkages, if any, between globalization, ideological populism, modernity, revivalism, ethno- nationalism, identity crisis, resurgence of Hindu nationalism and the emergence and consolidation of the Bharatiya Janata Party in Jharkhand. Further, I will attempt to analyse how these global tendencies and the emergence of Right - wing politics in Jharkhand affects the varied aspects of social life in the state such as market, religion, identity, state, government, etc. The aim is to investigate into the inter-connections, inter- relations and inter- dependences between these emergent phenomena.

Key Terms

Hindu- The term 'Hindu' simply refers to a person who follows Hinduism. Hinduism is an ideology as well as a way of life comprising a wide range of ideas, values, beliefs, traditions, scriptures, customs, practices, deities, philosophies, principles, etc**.** For Vivekananda, "A Hindu, first and foremost, is a person who subscribes to the doctrines and practices of Hinduism". "A Hindu", for Savarkar is "one who 'looks upon' the land that extends from the Indus to the Seas as his fatherland, who inherits the blood of his Vedic ancestors, who claims Sanskrit culture as his own and who 'addresses' Sindhusthan as his Holyland". Thus, the term 'Hindu' can be used to refer to an individual or individuals who subscribe to Hindu religious ideas, values, beliefs, traditions, scriptures, customs, practices, deities, philosophies, principles, etc.

Nationalism- The etymological origin of the term 'Nationalism' can be traced back to the Latin word *natio*, or "something born," a term that was used by the Romans to refer to a community of aliens. In the contemporary times, nationalism is identified as a strong sense of belongingness towards the nation. It was in 1798 that the term was first used in this particular sense. Nationalism refers to a political ideology as well as a movement that places emphasis on the nation as the fundamental unit of identity as well as loyalty. Nationalism as a political

ideology encompasses a strong sense of allegiance towards the nation which arises from deep faith and pride in the nation. A nationalist places the interest(s) of his/her nation over and above that of other nations. Nationalism looks upon the nation as a community, a type of a social group with common interests, strong sense of belongingness and unity amongst its members. Nationalism also stresses upon the right of self-determination, that is, each nation has a right to a state of its own. Nationalism has the potential to and does influence political movements like, immigration, cultural policies, foreign policy, economic protectionism, etc with the objective of promoting and protecting the interests of the nation.

Hindu Nationalism- It is also referred to as Hindutva. It is a political and cultural ideology that emphasizes the pre- eminence of Hindu culture and Hindu identity in India. Hindu nationalism is a particular type of nationalism that attempts to define and understand Indian national identity in terms of the Hindu socio- cultural and religious identity. The historical origin of Hindu nationalism can be dated back to the late 19th and the early 20th century. During this time the fear of cultural and religious domination and assimilation under the British colonial rule prompted leaders like Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Keshav Baliram Hedgewar and Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar to propagate and articulate this ideology.

The term 'Hindutva' was specifically coined by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. He used this term not in a religious context but rather in the political and socio- cultural sense. Savarkar emphasised upon the distinct cultural identity of the Hindus.

Hindu nationalism propagates the idea that India is a Hindu Civilizational entity. Hinduism provides the foundational base of this civilization.

In contemporary Indian politics, the BJP has been the most significant political representative of Hindutva/Hindu nationalism.

State of the art/ Literature Review

There is no dearth of relevant literature on Hindu nationalism and its resurgence in India in the wake of globalization. Similarly, a plethora of literature exists on organizational structure and historicity of the BJP. In terms of the electoral successes of the BJP, majority of the existing literature has focussed on Indian states where the Sangh Parivar and BJP have been

historically and organizationally strong, including the Hindi speaking northern, western and north- western belt of India. However, there is a notable dearth of literature which has looked at Right wing organizations in tribal majority states like Jharkhand. This research strives to fill the lacuna by analysing the historicity, organizational structure and the consolidation of Right-wing organizations in Jharkhand, particularly the BJP.

The Question of Identity

Anthony Giddens (1991) places identity at the centre of his theory of individuation, reflexive modernization, and the emergence of post-traditional societies within a global system. According to Giddens, as the strong hold of traditions over individuals and social group starts to wane, the daily lives of individuals and groups is reshaped as the result to the complex interplay between the global and the local forces. As a result, individuals and groups are compelled to adapt their lifestyle in the face of plurality of options. This reflexive approach to life planning becomes a fundamental aspect of self-identity formation (Giddens 1991:5). It is accompanied by an ongoing or retrospective "narrative of the self," which serves as the means through which self-identity is reflexively understood (Giddens 1991:242). Self-identity, in Giddens's view, is the individual's reflexive understanding of themselves in terms of their biography (Giddens 1991:244).

At the core of Gidden's notion of identity is the idea of trust, which sustains a sense of "ontological security" in the face of the potential chaos that lurks beyond everyday conventions (Giddens 1991:37). Giddens argues that trust serves as the foundation from which an emotive-cognitive orientation towards others, the object-world, and self-identity emerges (Giddens 1991:38). When this trust is breached, identity is contested.

Erik Erikson (1968) popularised the idea of 'identity crisis' in 1960s when he asserted that variables such as mistrust, shame, doubt, guilt, inferiority, role confusion, despair, isolation, stagnation, etc affects an individual's sense of belonging and consequently the development of their individual self. Erikson (1963) emphasized the importance of identity, stating that "in the social jungle of human existence, there is no feeling of being alive without a sense of identity" (Erikson 1963:240).

Erving Goffman (1963) explored stigma as a form of spoiled identity. Goffman analyses as to how people micro- manage their impressions, especially through concealment when their behaviour departs from the socially approved norms. When the socially acceptable standards of behaviour and norms vary between different cultures in a multi- cultural world, contestations over identities emerge and grow.

Michael Dusche (2010) in his book, "Identity Politics in India and Europe," analyses the impact of modernity on identity politics. He lays bare the roots of identity conflicts in contemporary world. Identity politics has emerged as a primary means of seeking and legitimizing political power. For this, the narrative mobilizes the masses at a large scale, employing modern means of transportation and communication, against an ‘outsider’, someone belonging to a different identity group, who is a perceived threat.

Globalization & Its Impact

According to **Anthony Giddens (1990)** globalisation is a 'double -edged' phenomena which 'unifies' and 'fragments' simultaneously leading to 'ontological insecurity'. He further posits that globalisation is a dialectical process. Local happenings, which encompass events, movements, and developments at the regional or local level, may not always align with or reflect the trends or interests of global relations. This disjuncture can occur because local contexts, cultures, and histories shape responses to global influences in unique ways. This can lead to the strengthening of pressures for local autonomy and regional identities.

Baylis and Smith (1997) in their edited work discuss that while it is true that some local, regional identities are eroding but at the same time, the experience (real or imagined) of having the whole world coverage at one's home ground has prompted to defensively reassert their distinctiveness, in some cases even more insistently than ever.

Bröckling (2016) argues that increasing economic deregulation, globalization, and privatization have extended the principles of competition and market exchange to domains of life that have previously been governed by informal and embedded ties or reciprocal exchange. This has led to greater social inequalities among social groups and has also led to a decrease in social solidarity and integration between social groups.

Geschiere and Meyer (1998) argue that paradoxically, the homogenising tendencies of globalisation imply continued or even more reinforced heterogeneity. It creates a precarious balance between 'global flows' and 'cultural closures'.

M. Castells (1997) in his analysis of network society and information age points out to the fact that our lives, in network societies, is significantly shaped by the contradictory forces of identity and globalization. Network societies, characterized by informational and technological developments, are promoting and seeing a rise in individualism. This trend is being strongly contended by the rise of collective identity practices and movement. These identities challenge the global tendencies by articulating cultural singularity. Castells identifies three basic types of identity: (1) legitimizing identity, which upholds systems of domination; (2) resistance identity, which opposes the struggles faced by marginalized groups within those systems; and (3) project identity, which involves the construction of new identities that imply the transformation of the broader social structure. These three identity types give rise to three corresponding modes of collectivity- civil society, comprised of the market and its legitimizing institutions; communities formed through collective resistance to marginalization caused by market processes; and subjects who seek to transcend markets and communities, constituting a collective social actor through which individuals find holistic meaning in their experiences (Castells, 1997:10).

Globalization and the process of homogenisation assumes the proper working of 'displacement syndrome', i.e. the idea that the old is necessarily being replaced by the new. However, this is an incorrect perception of social transformation.

Conservatism & Revitalization

Bacevich, Andrew J (2020) in his book, "*American conservatism: Reclaiming an Intellectual Tradition*" stresses on casting a wide net to capture the conservative disposition, and recurring themes on the virtues of tradition, an embrace of individualism, fears of an expansive bureaucratic state, the enduring role of religion, nationalist concerns with foreign enemies, and a defense of capitalist markets.

Nisbet, Robert. (1988) in his book, "*Conservatism: Dream and Reality*" contends that conservatism is committed to protecting society from the challenges posed by both collectivism and radical individualism.

Walter Dean Burnham (1982) observed a fundamental shift in America in the late 1970s which he referred to as a "revitalization movement". The movement emerged as a result of crisis in government and the emergence of political alternatives. The crisis in the government, in the first place was the result of extreme strain on its resources. A sputtering economy, conflicts over gender roles, basic values, family conflicts, etc contributed to the emergence of this movement, that questioned the basic characteristics of American society.

Right Wing Political Populism

Mikko Salmela and Christian Von Scheve (2017) in their paper, "Emotional Roots of Right-Wing Political Populism" analyses the emotional as well as the psychological factors that have played a role in the emergence of political populism of the right- wing parties. The authors argue that emotions play a vital role in shaping political beliefs, values and decisions. It is these emotions that are channelised by the leaders from right- wing parties to mobilize people in their support. For instance, in a neoliberal regime, where the marginalized sections are experiencing resentment because of rising economic inequality, the right- wing leaders channelize on the emotions of these sections pertaining to resentment, fear, distrust, etc. The authors point out that the narrative created by the right- wing lays emphasis on threat, in both it's perceived as well as real form. The right- wing, as per Salmela and Scheve encashes upon the cultural anxieties of people by appealing to the group and cultural identity of people. This derives strong emotional responses from people. Beyond immediate emotions, the paper also examines deeper psychological factors underlying support for right-wing populism. These may include feelings of alienation, disenfranchisement, or a desire for change in response to perceived societal injustices or inequalities.

Emergence and Resurgence of Hindu Nationalism

John Zavos (2000) in his Book, **"The Emergence of Hindu Nationalism in India"** has illustrated in detail the genesis and re-surgence of Hindu Nationalism in India. His work unearths the distinction between Hindu Nationalism and Indian Nationalism. He undertakes a scrutiny to verify if Hindu Nationalism exists or is it simply a polite manner of referring to communalist forces? With Hindu Nationalism putting forward itself as a crucial concept in Indian politics nowadays, there may be a pressing need to recognize and situate this concept within the context of cutting-edge Indian History.

John Zavos has examined the emergence of Hindu Nationalism as a political ideology. He focused on numerous movements, which seeks to mobilize Hindus with the aid of providing unique ideas of what it meant to be a Hindu.

Stuart Corbridge, John Harris (2000) in their book, "Reinventing India: Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy" analyse as to how the politics of Hindu nationalism is integrally linked to the global tendencies of liberalization and popular democracy.

BJP- Trajectory and Changes

Geeta Puri (1989) in her work, entitled "BJP: A Political Study" highlights the admixture of liberal and reformist outlook of the party. She makes enquiries into the welfare ideology and Gandhian principles which have been incorporated to democratize the party and broaden its social base.

Yogendra Yadav (2016) in a remark on his book, "The Modernisation of Indian Tradition" states that the nationalist, capitalist, and communication-oriented transformation that India has gone through has been one important reason for the rise of BJP-kind of ideology, an ideology that instils hope and aspiration. From its inception, the BJP has not identified itself as a party representing the peasants. In terms of its ideology, the BJP has been perceived as a middle-class party. Its foundation was laid with strong emphasis on the *shakhas*, seminaries, and the youth. Its ideology was para-India, or beyond India. The BJP moaned the lost glory of the civilizational entity that is India and seeks to revive it. This has had an enormous appeal among the masses. While the support base of the BJP was earlier confined to the youth in small towns, now its ideology has travelled all the way to the villages. In fact, the BJPs rise

has led to the growth of more middle classes. (Conversely), since the classes share the BJP's ideology, it helps the party in the polity. In this sense, its growth is anchored in the grassroots.

Problems to be investigated

This study aims to observe, analyze and lay bare how state, politics and civil society in India, particularly the state of Jharkhand, has witnessed the emergence and consolidation of Hindu nationalism and organizations that represent the Hindu nationalist forces, as mechanisms to deal with the crises that have emerged in the wake of 'globalizing tendencies' like consolidation of right-wing politics, identity crisis, revivalism, etc. The research in particular aims to analyze as to whether the BJP has emerged as a significant political player in the politics of Jharkhand. If yes, how has it consolidated its position and further what is the mode of its work in the state.

Objectives of the investigation

1. To trace the trajectory of the rise of BJP in Jharkhand and identify the mobilization and consolidation strategies of BJP, RSS AND VHP in Jharkhand.
2. To assess the impact of Right-wing ideology and Hindu nationalist organizations on the culture and social life of the State.
3. To assess the impact of Right-wing ideology and Hindu nationalist organizations on religion and the economy of the State?
4. To elaborate the link between a global trend (rise of ethno- nationalism) and its local manifestation (Hindutva and the BJP in particular).
5. To analyse the main challenges that BJP and Hindu nationalist organizations like RSS and VHP face in consolidating their presence in the socio- political terrain of a tribal dominated state.

Research Questions

Specific questions that will be investigated are as follows:

1. Which are the Hindu nationalist organization's that function in Jharkhand? What was the context of their emergence in Jharkhand? Did the BJP and Hindu nationalist organizations play a role in the establishment of the state of Jharkhand?
2. How did the BJP establish its presence and consolidate its position in Jharkhand after the formation of the state? How does cultural revivalism impact the BJP's mobilization and consolidation strategies in the state? Is it a favorable factor?
3. How have the Hindu nationalist organizations and the BJP contributed towards tribal development in the state? During its tenure in the state, what are the policies and programmes that the BJP introduced and implemented for the welfare of the tribal segment of the population?
4. How has the question of identity evolved in Jharkhand? What role has it played in the emergence and consolidation of the BJP and Hindu nationalist organizations in the state? What are the issues raised by the BJP to mobilize the tribal voters of Jharkhand?
5. What is the impact of the rise of BJP on the religion and the economy of the State?

Research Methods

In order to address the research questions framed above, I propose to conduct field work within two districts of Jharkhand, Ranchi and Dhanbad.

I propose to base this study on both primary and secondary data to gain clarity on the working of Hindutva organisations in Jharkhand. I propose to conduct extensive interviews with residents, on the basis of random stratified sampling, from these two districts with the aid of structured questionnaire to be administered by the researcher himself. I aim to hold unstructured interviews with the workers and leaders of the BJP, RSS and other allied organizations in Ranchi and Dhanbad. In order to identify such workers, I propose to follow the snowball sampling method. Besides them, the state and district leaders of the Sangh and non-Sangh organisations will also be interviewed with the assistance of unstructured/open ended questionnaires. Further, I aim to conduct Focussed Group discussions with party and RSS workers for their responses.

To understand the growth of the BJP from another perspective, I propose to interview tribal activists and tribal leaders from JMM and other organizations.
Additionally, secondary data including government documents, reports, writings, speeches, interviews and pamphlets issued by the Hindu Right organisations in India and Jharkhand will be reviewed.

Sources of data and tools to be used in the collection of data

The study aims to collect and analyse primary data as well as refer to relevant sources of secondary data.

Source- The data is proposed to be collected from two districts of Jharkhand. Ranchi emergences as a natural choice since it is the capital of the state and the epicentre of political and related activities. The other district from where the data is proposed to be collected is Dhanbad. Dhanbad is home to several coal mines, including some of the largest in the country. This extensive coal reserve has led to establishment of a plethora of industries. As a result, Dhanbad has emerged as one of the most prosperous districts of Jharkhand and a significant focal point of political activities.

Tools- The study proposes to utilize data collected from the field as well as secondary resources.

Primary Tools-

- Extensive interviews (with the aid of research administered structured questionnaires) with residents, on the basis of random stratified sampling, in Ranchi and Dhanbad;
- Unstructured interviews with the workers and leaders of the BJP, RSS and other allied Hindu nationalist organizations in Ranchi and Dhanbad (leaders and workers to be identified through snowball sampling).
- State and district leaders of the Sangh and non-Sangh political organisations will be interviewed with the assistance of unstructured /open ended questionnaires.
- Focussed Group discussions with BJP party and RSS workers for their responses.
- Focussed Group discussions with ABVP student leaders.
- unstructured interviews with tribal activists and tribal leaders from JMM and other organizations.

Secondary Tools-

- Government documents, reports, writings, speeches, interviews and pamphlets issued by the Hindu Right organisations in India and Jharkhand will be reviewed.

- Archival records.

Analysis of Data

For the purpose of data analysis, I propose to use the following methods:

- Coding and Categorization- on the basis of age, gender, religion, family income, etc
- Narrative analysis of text and visual data.
- Qualitative content analysis of interviews, FGDs and data collected through questionnaires.
- Discourse analysis- interpreting the data with reference to the time and context from where it was collected.
- Thematic analysis- finding similarities and divergences in the data collected.
- Graphical and statistical methods.

Significance of the Study/ Relevance in Present Day Society

This research is situated at a crucial juncture in history where ethno- nationalism is on the rise globally and Hindu nationalism is on a path of consolidation in India. The BJP has emerged as strong political contender at the national level and also in Jharkhand. Several other Hindu nationalist organizations are on the rise. Hence, this study seeks to analyse the historicity, organizational structure and the consolidation of Right-wing organizations in Jharkhand, particularly the BJP. This will fill the notable gap in literature and analysis.

Further, a major significance of this work pertains to analysing how the consolidation of right- wing politics in the state circumscribes the choices of the residents, particularly the tribal dominant population and how the ideology of the BJP and its related programmes and policies affect the socio- economic life and culture of the residents of Jharkhand.

This study can be referred to internationally in order to understand the linkages between Great tradition and Little tradition, i.e. how the rise of ethno- nationalism globally manifests itself in the state of Jharkhand.

The study can be referred to by students from across disciplines like Sociology, Political science, International Relations, Cultural Studies, Diaspora Studies, Globalization studies, etc for particular reference in understanding Hindu nationalism and its growth and consolidation in Jharkhand.

Contribution to the existing knowledge

A plethora of literature exists which has analysed the emergence of ethno- nationalism globally. In India, the historicity, organizational structure, functioning, demise, re- emergence of Hindu nationalist organizations, particularly the BJP has been a subject of enquiries. This study, however, will not only be a valuable addition to the existing knowledge, additionally, it intends to fill the gap in literature which has been created due to a dearth of literature pertaining to the emergence and consolidation of Hindu nationalist organisations in Jharkhand, particularly the BJP.

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